1: Cunningham G-8 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the
● [435] regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kash-
miri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer.
226 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from
the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is
effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days,
disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice
is first soaked for three or four days in water until it
begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the
rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been
soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly
into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash
is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The
cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per
seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the
tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool
[283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick
out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself
is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown,
which are spun into thread. This work is all done by
the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20¼	Rs. weight, or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5¼	„	$\frac{1}{16}$th.
Common wool	...	54¼	„	$\frac{11}{16}$ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs
called pattu.

443 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by
435 the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness,
and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom
it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed
threads are—

1s Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

443
436

	Weight.	
Of very fine white single thread	1¼	Rupee for 1 Rupee.
" " double "	1⅓	" "
" light brown (*phiri*)	5¼	" "
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	3¾	" "
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	" "
Fine ditto ditto	4¼	" "

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

439 The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about [435] the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, 236 Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity which was new to me; the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes like black currants. The latter are dried in the sun, and find their way to the Zimla bazaar, where they are kept by the merchants in large earthenware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante currants," and sold at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound. The cherry is found in the warm districts.

II.—GRAINS.

The crops consist of bearded and beardless barley, common wheat and buck-wheat, peas, turnips, and mustard. In the southern province of Spiti, wheat* grows at a height of 13,000 feet (at Lárá and Lidang above Dangkhar). In the valley of the Indus it first appears at Ugshé and Chimra, between 11,000 and 12,000 feet. Buck-wheat† generally affects the same elevations as common wheat. Both kinds of barley‡ are grown at an elevation of 15,000 feet; at Hanlé, at the Korzo Gonpa, on the bank of the *Tsĥomoriri* lake, and above Gyihbar in Spiti.

Peas§ are cultivated at Gyihbar and Loxar, the loftiest villages in Spiti, between 14,000 and 15,000 feet, and at Miru, in the Gya valley, from 12,500 and 13,500 feet. Mustard also is found at the same elevation; at Gyihbar in Spiti, and at Gya and at Miru in Ladák proper. Turnips are grown at 15,000 feet at the Korzo Gonpa, on

* Wheat is called *Gro*, which in some districts is pronounced *To*.

† *Bro*, by many pronounced *Do*.

‡ *Nas* is the name for all kinds of barley. *Nas-karmo* is white barley, and *Nak Nas* is black barley.

§ *Houma*, which is spelt *Sronma*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fifty grains each, and the same number of ears of beardless barley, from the banks of the Tshomoriri lake, gave a return of forty-five grains each. Moorcroft, however, mentions that the Hasora wheat grown in Ladák yields from forty to seventy grains in each ear.* From these statements it is clear that not more than one-fourth of the seed can germinate. Much of it is, no doubt, eaten by the vast flocks of pigeons and chakors, which abound in Ladák; but the greater proportion, perhaps, rots. Many of the young plants must be destroyed by the night frost; for in most of the districts of Ladák it freezes almost every night, even during the month of June.

The total produce of Ladák may be ascertained approximately in the following manner. In 1847 I obtained the census and other statistical details of 142 villages in the different districts of Ladák, containing 1,890 houses, with 20,815 *kháls* of cultivable land, or just 11 *kháls* per house. As the total number of landed or paying houses† in Ladák is 18,000, the whole amount of cultivable land throughout the country may be reckoned at 198,000 kháls, or about 66,000 acres. Each khál requires 16 seers of seed, and yields about ten-fold. The total available produce for food is therefore only nine-fold, or about 28,512,000 seers, equal to 1,000,000 bushels, which, with the former population of 165,000, would not give more than 7 chittaks (14 oz.) of food to each person daily, while the average consumption is at least 8 chittaks (1 lb.). The deficiency is about 24 seers for each person; which, at the rate of 16 seers per

* Travels, I. p. 275.

† In Ladák no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a.
[435] (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house.
439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only $7\frac{3}{4}$ chittaks ($15\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers annually, equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 797 [142]SCHOOL--hlopá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Láma, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2½ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where **salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency,** even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 436 As regards the ancient **tea-money of Tibet,** there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called **jau.** This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

• [435]

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the **Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle,"** being derived directly from *phyugs,* cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Chang-tang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

● 435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

241 *Method of Sowing.*

The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough

[231] is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

on the other hand, the divorce occurs at the request of the *bag-ma* wife or of the *mag-pa* husband, the equivalent in money of a horse will be given to the injured party. This is called *P'ho-skyur-ta* (*P'ho-bSkyur-rTa*) or "man thrown out horse". During the reign of the Tibetan kings of Western Tibet, real horses and cows were handed over. But with the accession of the Dogra masters, Wazir-i-Wazarat Akbar Ali Shah, who ruled in Ladak in the early 1870s, converted the value of these animals into cash, a horse being estimated as worth Rs. 25, and a cow Rs. 12/8/–. Henceforward, compensation had to be paid in money and no longer in kind.

Extra-marital relations do occur in Ladak among polyandrous people, but on the whole all my informants, including the Reverend W. Asboe, were very insistant that those who practised polyandry were more "moral" than the others who did not. They meant by this, that the pressure of public opinion upon remaining faithful to the custom and not departing from what was expected of those living matrimonially in this fashion was very great and, usually, very effective in enforcing the rule.

In spite of this, it could not be said that departures from this moral rule did not occur. Lamas who had taken vows of celibacy, such as the Gelug-pas for instance, were known occasionally to get involved in illicit love affairs. A woman who was thus a partner to the strayings of a lama was known as a *la-dud* (*bLa-aDrud*), "dragger away of lama".

Unmarried girls who took lovers might be forced to marry them, if the man was unmarried. If he was already wed, he might have to divorce and marry the girl, or simply give her the necessary means of livelihood. Should she have a child by him, she would be turned out of her family's house and beaten, and the man would, in most instances, be obliged to marry her. The only exception could occur if he should already be married and have children, when he would have to arrange for the upkeep of his paramour and her child. As it was, this did not happen very often, all young girls normally being chaperoned when they attended public festivals. It was here that lovers met, it was admitted, but it would be difficult for an unmarried daughter, properly accompanied, to start an intrigue in this way.

Women living in polyandry did have lovers, I was told, because they did not always feel the affection which they should have for their many husbands. A *bag-ma* wife caught in the act would be beaten, driven out of the house and divorced, if she was not yet a mother. If she had children, she would not be driven away, but her paramour would be

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

181 197 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as 162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number 651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l*., but in 1869 439 it was reduced to 200*l*. There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must [651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys, 435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash 437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.